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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 025062 TOSEC 020006

NODIS

FOL RPT LONDON 01602 ACTION SECSTATE 02 FEB QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 01602

NODIS

DEPT PASS TO SECY OF LABOR, AMEMBASSY BELGRADE AND
AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ILO, AORG

SUBJECT: ILO DISCUSSIONS LONDON

SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN (ACCOMPANIED BY CHARGE)
MET WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN AND (ACCOMPANIED BY
LONDON LABOUR ATTACHE) EMPLOYMENT SECRETARY FOOTE ON
JANUARY 30, 1976. SILBERMAN OUTLINED USG POSITION.
CALLAGHAN RESPONSE WAS ROUGH. FOOTE RESPONSE WAS THOUGHT-
FUL AND LOW KEY, BUT WITH FULL RECOGNITION OF DIFFICULT
CHOICE FOR HME. END SUMMARY.

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MEETING WITH CALLAGHAN

1. WE ARE INFORMED THAT CALLAGHAN MET WITH TUC REPRESENTATIVES IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO OUR MEETING. MEETING OPENED WITH SHORT CONVERSATION BETWEEN FOREIGN SECRETARY AND AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN RE YUGOSLAV AFFAIRS WHICH WILL BE REPORTED SEPTTEL. CALLAGHAN THEN REFERRED TO DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN TUC AND AFL/CIO. HE NOTED THAT LEN MURRAY WOULD BE GOING TO THE US IN MARCH AND HOPED THAT DIFFICULTIES WOULD BE RECONCILED. IN A POINTED ASIDE HE ASKED HIS LABOR ADVISOR FOGGAM WHETHER MURRAY HAD BEEN INVITED TO ATTEND AFL/CIM EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING AND FOGGAM, ON CUE, RESPONDED NEGATIVELY. AT THAT POINT, HAVING SET THE STAGE, HE INVITED AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN TO EXPRESS USG VIEWS ON ILO. AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN PRESENTED POSITION FULLY, EMPHASIZING THE UNANIMITY USG, AMERICAN LABOR AND AMERICAN EMPLOYERS HAD REACHED ON US POLICY VIS-A-VIS ILO. HAVING HEARD PRIOR TO MEETING THAT CALLAGHAN HAD RECENTLY REMARKED ON PECULIARITIES OF USG POLICY IN ELECTION YEAR, AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN EMPHASIZED HIS VIEW THAT UNANIMITY AMONGST ALL THREE INSTITUTIONS SUGGESTED CONSTANCY OF USG POLICY FOR PERIOD OF TIME COVERED BY NOTICE OF INTENT TO WITHDRAW.

2. COVERING ALL POINTS DISCUSSED IN LETTER AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF ILO ELECTIONS THIS YEAR AS WELL AS USG OPPOSITION TO STRUCTURAL CHANGES. SILBERMAN LEFT NO DOUBT AS TO CONSEQUENCES FOR US OF UNFAVORABLE RESOLUTION OF THESE ISSUES AND FURTHER CALLED ATTENTION TO NEED FOR COORDINATED EFFORTS TO CONTROL EMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE.

3. AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN EXPLAINED US POLICY AS NOT A TACTIC DESIGNED TO GIVE SHORT-TERM LEVERAGE BUT RATHER A

DICATING THAT USG HAS CONCLUDED THAT IF A WORKING ALLIANCE OF DEMOCRACIES ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE CANNOT BE FORGED US BETTER OFF OUTSIDE ILO THAN ISOLATED INSIDE.

4. CALLAGHAN RESPONDED THAT AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN HAD BEEN "FRANK AND BLUNT BUT NOT PERSUASIVE." HE ANGRILY
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ACCUSED USG OF MAKING DEMANDS AND STATED THAT HE DID NOT ACCEPT THIS KIND OF TALK FROM EITHER THE SOVIET UNION OR US. HE DESCRIBED THE US POSITION AS ONE REACHED "FOR YOUR OWN REASONS," WHICH COULD RESULT IN SELF-ISOLATION ADDING THAT OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE UNIONS COMPOSED IN PART OF MEMBERS WHO DO NOT SYMPATHIZE WITH US IDEAS. HE THEN ASKED WHETHER USG HAD CONSULTED WITH TUC AND BRITISH EMPLOYERS BEFORE REACHING DECISION TO SEND LETTER OF INTENT

TO WITHDRAW. AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN RESPONDED THAT HE WAS HERE TO DISCUSS THE ISSUES ON A GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT BASIS. BOTH SILBERMAN AND CHARGE EMPHASIZED THAT IT WAS NOT USG INTENT TO APPLY PRESSURE ON HMG. AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN STATED THAT HE WAS INSTRUCTED TO MAKE US STAND ON ILO CLEAR AND ASKED THAT IF WE COULD NOT BE FRANK WITH HMG WHERE COULD WE BE FRANK. CALLAGHAN ANSWERED THAT "NO ONE HAS EVER TALKED TO HIM THIS WAY IN THIS ROOM." CHARGE NOTED HE HAD TOLD AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN THAT CALLAGHAN WAS A MAN WHO APPRECIATED CLEAR SPEAKING AND AMBIGUITY WOULD SERVE NEITHER PARTY'S INTEREST. FLUSHED AND UNAPPEASED, CALLAGHAN ENDED MEETING INDICATING GRIMLY THAT HE UNDERSTOOD US POSITION AND WOULD TAKE IT UNDER CONSIDERATION, NOTING THAT AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN WOULD BE SEEING MR. FOOTE.

CHARGE COMMENT: IT IS DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN CALLAGHAN'S ANGRY AND, I THOUGHT, DISPROPORTIONATE REACTION. AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN WAS CLEAR, OUTSPOKEN AND DIRECT. (I HAD NOTED CIRCUMLOCUTIONS ARE NOT EFFECTIVE WITH FONSEC.) I DID NOT CONSIDER HIS PRESENTATION RUDE, THREATENING, OR PATRONIZING, AS CALLAGHAN APPARENTLY TOOK IT. CALLAGHAN'S TOUGH RESPONSE MAY HAVE BEEN "TACTICAL," DESIGNED FOR REPORT TO HIS OWN LEFT WING OR UNION LEADERSHIP AS DEMONSTRATION ABILITY TO BE TOUGH WITH US. IT MAY REPRESENT GENUINE DISAGREEMENT WITH OUR POSITION, ALTHOUGH THAT WOULD HARDLY SUFFICE TO EXPLAIN SUCH A STRONG REACTION. IT MAY REFLECT CURRENT PRESSURES AND FRUSTRATION HE FEELS IN PEAKING COD WAR SITUATION AND HIS FEELING THAT NATO PARTNERS, INCLUDING US, HAVE BEEN SOFT ON ICELAND AND HARD ON UK, FOR WHOM ISSUE IS A CLEAR-CUT ONE OF FREEDOM OF SEAS.

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MEETING WITH SECRETARY FOOTE

1. AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN MEETING WITH FOOTE GENERATED ENTIRELY DIFFERENT TONE OF RESPONSE NOTWITHSTANDING SAME APPROACH. DISCUSSION WENT INTO MUCH GREATER DETAIL ON ISSUES. FOOTE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER IMPACT ON ILO IF US SHOULD WITHDRAW AND EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF ILO BOTH FOR ITS POSITIVE EFFECT IN GREAT BRITAIN AS WELL AS ITS USEFULNESS IN PROPAGATING FREE TRADE UNIONISM AROUND THE WORLD. FOOTE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT US OVEREMPHASIS ON 4 ELECTIONS WOULD DIVERT ILO FROM IMPORTANT BUSINESS AND PERMANENT UNDERSECRETARY HERON CONTENTED THAT ELECTION OF AN EASTERN EUROPEAN FOR ILO PRESIDENCY WOULD NOT BY ITSELF ERNDE THE PRINCIPAL OF TRIPARTITEISM. AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN FIRMLY DISAGREED INDICATING THAT IT WAS USG POSITION THAT THE ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY OF A MAN

REPRESENTING A NATION OPPOSED TO FREE TRADE UNIONS AND THEREFORE FUNDAMENTALLY OPPOSED TO TRIPARTITEISM COULD NOT HELP BUT APPEAR AROUND THE WORLD (PARTICULARLY IN US) AS ABANDONMENT OF THE TRIPARTITE PRINCIPLE. HERON ASKED WHETHER USG WOULD ACCEPT ONLY COMPLETE VICTORY ON ISSUES OF IMMEDIATE IMPORTANCE (WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE ELECTIONS) OR WHETHER WE WOULD BE SATISFIED WITH ACTIVE COOPERATION OF WESTERN MEMBERS. AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN RESPONDED THAT WITH REAL COOPERATION WE COULD PREVAIL IN THE ELECTIONS AND ON ISSUES OF STRUCTURE. ON THE LATTER POINT AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN NOTED THAT CHANGES CAN BE BLOCKED BY 5 STATES OF CHIEF INDUSTRIAL IMPORTANCE.

2. FOOTE STATED THAT THE CONSEQUENCES OF US POLICY COULD BE THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ILO, WHICH MIGHT THEN HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON FREE TRADE UNIONISM. HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE IMPACT OF USG POLICY IN THIRD WORLD AS WELL AS IMPACT ON TRADE UNIONS IN ITALY AND FRANCE. AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT ALTHOUGH WE MIGHT DIFFER WE SINCERELY BELIEVED OUR POLICY WOULD HAVE A POSITIVE EFFECT ON ALL OF THOSE MATTERS IF WE WERE SUPPORTED BY THE DEMOCRACIES BUT IF WE WERE NOT, WE WOULD PREFER TO WITHDRAW.

AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN'S COMMENT: PUTTING THE TWO MEETINGS TOGETHER AND AFTER PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH IRVING BROWN, CONFIDENTIAL

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WHO WAS SIMULTANEOUSLY MEETING WITH TUC OFFICIALS, MY CONCLUSION IS THAT HMG VIEWS US POLICY AS UNADULTERATED MEANISM. IT THEREFORE IS INCLINED TO TREAT THE WHOLE QUESTION AS ONE OF SEVERAL REPEAT SEVERAL ISSUES TO BE RESOLVED BETWEEN TUC AND AFL/CIO. HMG HAS ENOUGH TROUBLE WITH TUC DOMESTICALLY TO DISCOURAGE IT FROM TAKING SEPARATE LINE ON ILO QUESTIONS. (TUC WAS INFORMED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY OF RESULT OF MY MEETING WITH CALLAGHAN.) MURRAY MEETING WITH MEANY IN MARCH THEREFORE OF KEY IMPORTANCE TO BRITISH POSITION, AND I WOULD SUSPECT BRITISH WOULD ATTEMPT TO TEMPORIZE ON ISSUES UNTIL THEN.

FOR AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN FROM AMBASSADOR SILBERMAN: SINCE BRITISH DISLIKE KING LEAR, I OFFERED FOOTE HE CRY V. L"WE FEW, WE HAPPY FEW, WE BAND OF BROTHERS." EMPHASIZING OF COURSE AGINCOURT WAS A VICTORY. FOOTE'S RESPONSE CAME CLOSER TO HAMLET.

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